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INDULGENCE not JUSTIFIED:

Being a Continuation of the

DISCOURSE
OF
TOLERATION:

In Answer to the

ARGUMENTS

[by John Owen]
Of a late Book, Entituled

A Peace-Offering, or Plea for Indulgence:

And to the

C A V I L S

[by John Corbett]
Of another, call'd

The Second Discourse of the Religion in England.

By Richard Perrinchief

Perrinchief

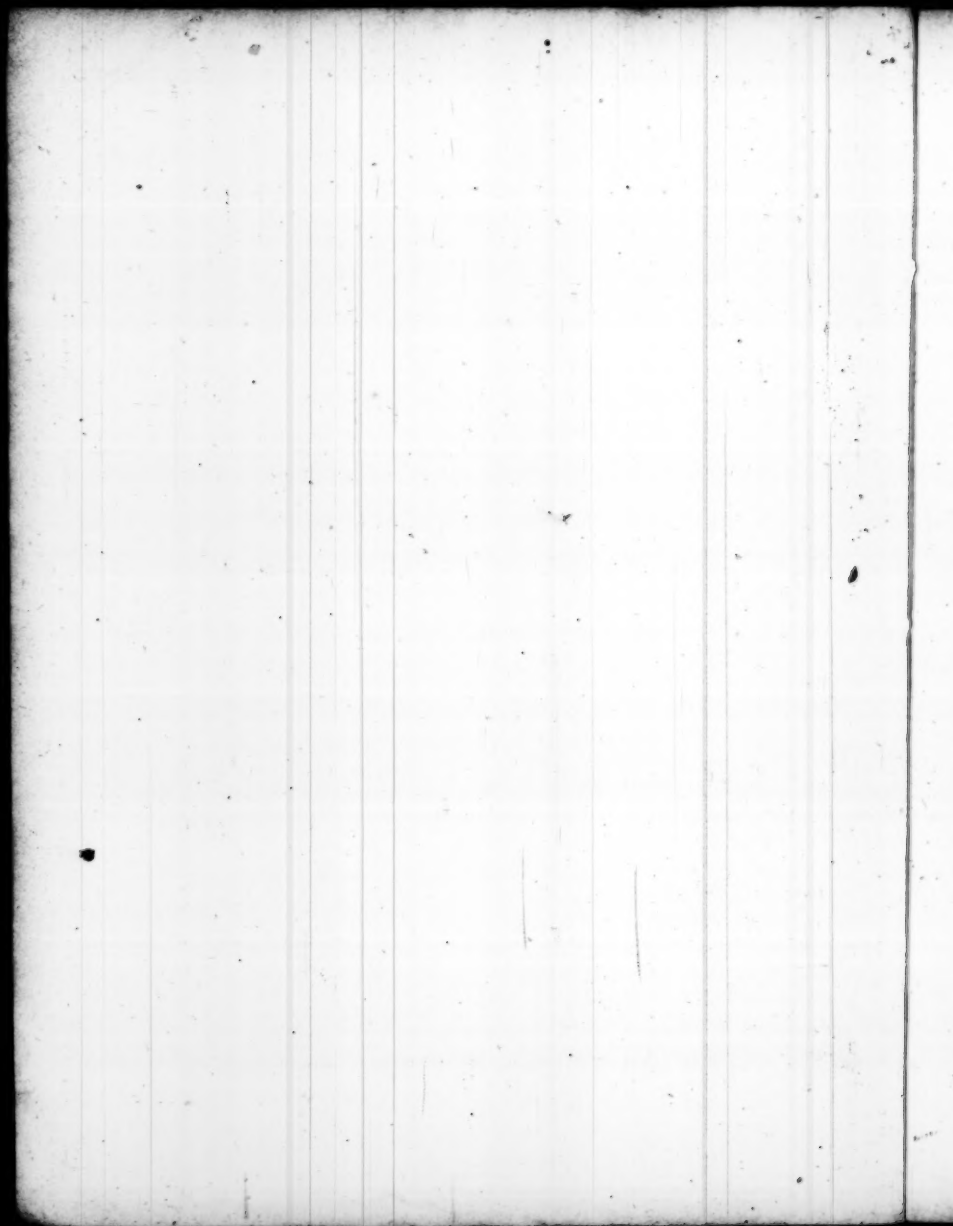
August. Epist. Quinquages. ad Bonifacium.

*Quomodo Reges Domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea qua contra iussa
Domini fiunt, Religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo?*

L O N D O N :

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A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
DISCOURSE
OF
TOLERATION.

SECT. I.

Our Laws for Uniformity justifiable.

Religion being acknowledged by the Experience of all ages to have an effectual Influence upon the civil Conversation of men, the measures of a Peoples mutual Confidence, and so consequently of their Quiet among themselves, will be according to the Degrees of Purity, and Unity, which are observed in that Religion, professed by the State. *Christianity* though it be the only true and pure Religion, and therefore where it is observed in its Simplicity, is most beneficial to mankind; for all its precepts oblige Beleever to the exactest Justice, the most compassionate acts of Mercy, and the strictest Peace, by which Societies are preserved and advanced; Yet being to be professed by men encompassed with Infirmities, and not secured from Corruptions, it is obnoxious to *Heresies*, and *Divisions*; because there will be alwaies ignorant and unstable men who will wrest the Scriptures to their own damnation, and there will be men of corrupt minds, who having put away a good Conscience, concerning the Faith will make shipwrack. And when Contentions arise in this, they are more bitter and fierce then upon any other account, because the Honour of God seems concerned in the Quarrel, and the glory of Heaven is conceived the Prize for the high-

est Zeale. Therefore all *Christian Princes*, have seen a necessity to preserve as much as they could the Unity of Religion as one of the Foundations of their Subjects Peace: And when Divisions have happened within their Territories, by consulting such Persons who might be presumed the fittest Judges in the Case, they have searched for the Truth; which being once found, they have maintained it by a restraint upon all Contradictions to it.

This hath been the known practice of our *English Princes* since the *Reformation*, by which they kept the Dissentions about the Latitude and Extent of Reformation in so low a Condition, that though they required the publick Cares; yet they did never effect any common Trouble, till this our last Age: in which men grew weary of their Peace, and glutted with too great a Prosperity (the chief cause of all Civil Wars) they grew impatient of Laws; and not satisfied with that just Liberty, wherein they enjoyed their private Rights with as great, if not greater security, as any Nation under the Sun, they invaded those of the Throne.

Their method to such an Enterprize was to cause a Confusion, in which they hoped by base Arts to form their Fortunes agreeable to their Lusts. To introduce Disorder they first attempted upon Religion, and by ruining and dissolving the Government of the Church they opened a breach for all Heresies, and encouraged all Schisms: Thus they got a party ingaged to them for their Licence, and by their force and fraud a Power, which through the just Judgment of the Righteous God, attained their Curled ends.

But when it pleased the Almighty Goodness by breaking them to pieces with his own arme to restore our *Rightful Prince*, and our ancient Laws; to ascertain our Peace, those just rules of Government to effect Unity in Religion, were again practised; *His Majesty and the Parliament* enacting such Laws as did enjoin *Uniformity* in Religion. In making of which as they did cut off all those Jealousies (which are dangerous to Magistrates) of being unconcerned for the Worship of God; So in the Laws themselves they have prevented all Calumnies of Cruelty and Persecution,

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For by them *No man is forced to professe any thing contrary to his Perswasion*, which he calls his Faith. *No man is denied the Liberty of his own Worship in his own Family*, with so limited a Company as may not enjealous the State of contriving a Publick Disturbance.

Besides *there is no Condition imposed upon our Communion but Conformity with the Church as to the Outward part of Worship*, without any express or formal Declaration of their Opinions concerning it. And by this Moderation all the clamours of Force upon Conscience, and *Compulsion to the Faith*, are rendred false and unreasonable.

All that these Laws extend unto, is to secure the Truth and Peace; 1. *By forbidding any to be admitted to the Office of Teachers and Ministers, but such who secure the Church and State by their Subscriptions or Oaths, that they will not hold or teach any thing contrary to the Publick profession: and that they will consent to the Use of the prescribed Forms of Worship.* 2. *By hindering of Conventicles and meetings, wherein such Errors might be published, and the publick Tranquillity designed against.*

Which Laws as they are justifiable by the continued practise of the Church in all Ages, by the Examples of the most Religious Princes: so also are they far beneath that rigour which the men who now complain of them, did use when and where, they had or have power. Who has forgot the Tyrannies of the Covenant? We have heard of the Terrors whereby the Decrees of the Kirk of Scotland exacted Obedience. And New England shews us what we were to have expected from the Independents here, had they attained to the issue of their Designs (which they speedily halted unto) and gotten a fixed power amongst us. But how just soever the Laws are in themselves, yet because they are against the Interest of men of unlawful Hopes, and they obstruct the recovery of that Grandeur which others had in our miseries, they have been written against in several books; more particularly in one intituled a *Discourse of Religion*, as not having settled Reformed Christianity in its due Latitude, nor provided for the Stability and Advancement of this Kingdom. To justify the Counsels of our Law-givers in these Acts, there

was published a *Discourse of Toleration* in answer to that *Discourse of Religion*, which was to shew, That the Causes of Dissentions in Religion, which are the Subject of Toleration, being infamous and sinful, and their Effects full of Destruction to Piety, and the Common-Wealth; That therefore every one was bound in their Place, and Order, to endeavour their Removal and Extirpation; And that this was not to be effected by Toleration, was proved by several Arguments, and by shewing the weakness of all those reasons which were urged in the *Discourse of Religion*. Since that, there is come forth another Book entituled a *Peace Offering, or Apology and Plea for Indulgence*, which proceeds upon other grounds to shew that all External Force by Civil Laws upon the account of Religion is not to be justified. To adjust therefore that *Discourse of Toleration* against all the Arguments that are brought in the *Apology for Indulgence*, and to vindicate it from the Exceptions made to it in a second *Discourse of Religion* is the business of this present Treatise.

S E C T. 2.

An Answer to the Book called the Peace-Offering, That Indulgence is not justified by the Law of Nature.

THE Book called the *Peace-Offering* bears the name of several Protestants; but what sort or party of Protestants it leaves us to conjecture. Some passages in it persuade us that they are *Independents*, but they being so comprehensive a Sect of those strictly so called, and of the other who crowd under that name, as *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, *Antinomians*, &c. We are still in the dark what sort of men they are; therefore we can take no notice of that great kindness they show to themselves, in being free in their own commendations. Nor will we of their Principles, they being various, according to the several Sects, and still changeable by the Increase or wane of the light they pretend unto. To gratify them also we shall wave the objecting to them, how great a part of the late Troubles of this Nation flowed from their Counsels and Designs, and wish that

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that they were buried in an eternal Oblivion, never to rise up to the reproach of *Christianity* and *Protestantism*, and not be remembered, but to a Caution of being abused by the same Arts, and of falling again into the like Miseries.

The only thing therefore we shall take notice of, in this *Plea for Indulgence*, shall be to examine the reasons and arguments they bring to prove, that “*All outward violence, and severity upon the account of Dissensions.* (For the differences of these men from the present establishment are not bare *Dissents in Religion*;) is destitute of any firm Foundation in *Scripture* and *Reason*.”

Their first Argument they will have to be from the *Law of Nature*, which to raise a dust, and amuse the less wary Reader, is drawn out to a needless length, and cloathed with an affected obscurity; for to what purpose was it to have been tedious in proving what all grant, that “*Every single person to prevent mischief destructive to a Community, is to forego his particular conveniences, if they be in things in his own power.* Nor was a long discourse necessary to shew, that “*a Community is not to require of its members, things not in their power, since no sober man ever dreamt that any thing impossible could be the subject of a Law.*”

But when they assume, “*That mens Apprehensions of things Spiritual and supernatural, such they mean as have no alliance to the ingrafted light of nature, are not absolutely in their own power, &c* from thence conclude, “*that those Apprehensions and the exercises of Conscience towards God upon them, cannot be the subjects of the Laws of civil Societies,* they endeavor to impose upon us several fallacies, particularly these two. 1 Their argument supposes, “*that the Laws are made against mens Apprehensions,* Whereas the Apprehensions of men are not the subject of the Laws, but their Practices answerable or not answerable to the Apprehensions.

2. Their Conclusion contains more then was in the Premises, for their arguments had only aimed to prove, “*that mens Apprehensions of things Spiritual were not in their power; So that their Diversity was unavoidable; but when they conclude, they joyn with these apprehensions the Exercise of their Conscience, of which there was not one word in the premises. And as their way of arguing is fallacious, so are the propositions themselves not true; for*

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1. This proposition that “*Mens Apprehensions of things Spiritual and Supernatural do not depend on the Liberty of their wills, nor, are in their own power, As thus crudely proposed is false.* For all those to whom the Gospel is preached, if they do not apprehend the truth, their not apprehension is (1) imputed unto them as their sin, and wilfull transgression; For it is said of them, that *their Hearts were waxed fat, and their Ears are dull of hearing, and their Eyes have they closed.* They are said to *resist the Holy Ghost.* That *they received not the love of the truth, &c.* But this could not be charged upon them, had it not been in their power to apprehend those Spiritual things when preached unto them. (2) They are *punished* for it; for it is said that *God for this cause sent them strong delusions that they might believe a lye,* and the sentence of *Damnation* is passed upon them, *That they all might be damned who believed not the truth.* But it is injurious to the Divine Goodness to say that he damns men for that which was not in their Power to avoid. And that he should send them strong delusions to believe a Lye, when it was not in their power to apprehend the Truth. And if it be in the power of men to apprehend the truth; having the Doctrine of Christ preached to them, then it is not impossible to have the same apprehensions: because the Truth is One and the Same, and varies not in it self, and so the Apprehensions must be all the same in their nature, *i. e.* in a conformity to the thing apprehended: although there may be difference, as to the degrees. It may be indeed more clear in one than another, one may apprehend all the parts, see further into the consequences of things than others: yet still the apprehension may be the same in essence, if men will lay down their prejudices, part with their lusts, repudiate their carnal interests, and cast off the tyranny of custome.

That which they offer for a proof is full of ambiguity, as if they were afraid to be understood; For when they say that “*the Will of God in things Supernatural and Spiritual cannot be known, but by Revelation from himself;* We do not know whether they mean that General Revelation which is made unto us from him the Scriptures, or a Particular Revelation to every single person: if they mean this latter, they should have proved it. And when they say “*that Divine Revelation can not be*” apprehended or
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“assented unto, but according to the nature and measure of that Light which God is pleased to communicate unto them, to whom such Revelation is made, We are again at a loss, for they do not prove that there is a Light different from the Revelation of God; for the truth which God reveals, is the light it self, which like the light of the Sun, makes it self as well as other things to be seen. When they say “*this light doth not equally effect the minds of men.* We grant it, but yet we cannot, as they do, deny “*that it is possible it should do so: for although there be divers ways and means of Communicating the Truth.* Yet however, God may give to all them to whom the Word is Preached, sufficient means to Apprehend and acknowledge his Truths. And although “*there be different Dispositions of them, to whom the Word is proposed.* Yet those dispositions whereby men resist, and will not apprehend the Truth, are from themselves, and to their own Condemnation, which they may, and ought to lay aside. So that they have not proved what they intended. And if they had done so, yet they would gain nothing by it.

Because the 2 d. proposition (which they included in their inference) *The exercise of mens consciences, or the Practices of men upon their apprehensions of things Spiritual, are not in their power.* Is also false. For the practices of Men (which are the Subject of Laws) whether conformable or not to their apprehensions, are within their power, either to act or not act, as shall seem most for the benefit of the Society, the Church. This is plain by that principle of Order which the Apostle layes down, 1 Cor. 14. 32. *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets, where by the Spirits of the Prophets, the Context shews, were signified some Inspirations, and gifts of the Holy Ghost as to Prophecie, or to sing a Psalm, or to speak in an unknown Tongue; and these certainly were more vigorous, had a stronger impulse, and more efficacious impressions upon the minde of the Prophet, then a bare apprehension of a thing could effect: and yet the Apostle saith, these Spirits were subject to the Prophets, whether it were the Prophets that received it, so that they might forbear, or speak as it seemed most for Order, and edifying; or else to the other Prophets that were to judge, so that they might give Rules, and Laws for the use of those gifts. Of which sort soever you take these Prophets to be, to whom the*
Spirits

Spirits were to be subject, it argues that it was in their power ; and therefore the *Apostle* commands that they should use it to the benefit of others.

The same is in the Apostles counsel, when he directs him that had a particular persuasion of the *lawfulness* or *unlawfulness* of some things, to restrain that to his own breast. * *Hst thou faith? have it to thy self* ; and therefore he was Master of his own practice, notwithstanding his persuasion. This the Apostle supposes in all these admonitions which are given to men of different persuasions, to preserve the peace of the Church. For if they were by their persuasions to be acted violently, like the *Enthusiasts* among the *Idolaters*, that were not able to contain themselves in their extasies, it had been in vain to have given counsels to them who were not able to observe them. Besides if God should have concluded us under an *Impossibility* of having all the same apprehensions of Spiritual and supernatural things, and had also condemned us all to such a slavery to those apprehensions, as that it should not be in our power to manage our selves under them, to the peace and tranquillity of the Church, it had been in effect to have created us to mutual Destructions, concluded us under a worse condition than Brutes, and given us Apprehensive Faculties only to destroy our selves and others; all which are contrary to the Divine goodness, and the gentle, meek, and charitable commands of Christ.

But say they " *To teach men that their consciences towards God, are not concerned in their not acting according to their Light in his Worship, or in acting against it, is to teach them to be Atheists.* " We answer, That to teach men not to be over confident in their own apprehensions, but to be so moderate as may be for the Peace of the Church, is not to act contrary to their Consciences, but most agreeably to a well ordered Conscience ; this being a plain, clear, and confessed duty by all Christians: the particular apprehensions of one person or party being subject to many suspicions, whether they be the right measures of a duty or no. And in doing this they are so far from being *Atheists*, that they become the better *Christians*, following the Rules of Christ and his Apostles.

SECT. 3.

Indulgence not justified from the Example of Christ.

THeir second Argument is drawn from the Example of our Saviour, in which we confess we are not only to adore and admire, but also to imitate all that Meekness, & Lowlyneſs, which rendred his life glorious in holineſs; yet theſe men dare not ſay that the number of our duties is bounded by his example, and that we are to forbear every thing, whereof we have no pattern in his holy Converſation. For then they ſhould not keep *holy the firſt day of the Week*, nor Baptize Children, nor gather particular Congregations, nor impoſe Congregational Covenants, all which theſe men do, and we no where read, that Chriſt did. Beſides, theſe men are not ſo ignorant, as to believe a negative argument to be of any force, though they make uſe of it to commend this doctrine of their intereſt, to the Vulgar; and therefore when they ſay “*Coerce, Fine, Impriſon, Banish thoſe that apprehend not aright all and every thing that I would have you inſtructed in, are words that never proceeded out of his mouth, &c.*” We reply, (1) That this does not inforce, that no Church and State by good Laws, and well proportioned Penalties, ſhould reduce erroneous and diſagreeing Chriſtians to Peace and Order. 2. This makes nothing againſt Our Laws, who do not ſay *Coerce, Fine, &c.* thoſe that apprehend not aright all and every thing which Jeſus would have us inſtructed in; for there be many different opinions in the Church of *England* which the Laws of the State and Church take no notice of. And it is not their intent to make men of one minde in all and every thing, (Which yet is to be wiſhed :) But coerce thoſe who do things contrary to the Peace of Chriſtians, and will not ſubmit to their Lawful Superiors, when they command things juſt, and in their power. And this we are ſure may be collected from the words that proceeded out of our Saviours mouth.

Nor is it any more to the purpoſe when they ſay “*That it is a marvelous difficulty for any to think ſeriouſly, That he who was ſo full of compaſſion towards all the ſons of men, ſhould ever give the laſt conſent unto the Punishment, and gradual Deſtruction of thoſe*

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*"who in sincerity desire to Love and Obey them, and do yet unavoidably
 "mistake in their apprehensions of some few things, pleaded to be accor-
 "ding to his minde. For 1. It is our duty, and also the duty of all
 who do pretend to be true Christians, seriously to think of those
 many and very pressing commands of our Lord Jesus Christ, that his
 Disciples should preserve unity among themselves; and it is our great
 marvel, that these men who pretend so high to the name of
 Christ, should yet take no notice of those Precepts.*

Secondly, when we seriously think of them, we cannot but conclude, *That these Commands of Unity proceeded from the fulness of his compassion towards the Sons of Men.* 1. Towards those men who should desire to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; that these should not be distracted in their choice, what party to apply themselves unto, with whom they might joyn themselves to seek the Lord, and where they might most assuredly receive the Word of Life. Which distractions it was not possible for them to avoid, if the Christians were divided into several parties. 2. Towards those of the World, who though they would not believe, and so should not be concerned in the truth of Christians; yet they must be in the Quiet and Peace of them. For experience shews, that when Divisions and Contentions turmoild the Church, the State and even the mixt company of unbelievers soon found themselves under many miseries, while the contending parties mutually armed to a destruction of their Opposites.

Thirdly, *These commands of Christ, and this compassion to mankind, do oblige every man to endeavour to preserve that unity by all ways proper for them in their several Callings.* And therefore Christian Kings may and ought to do it in their way which is by just Laws, and the Church by wise and pious Injunctions; and all are to avoid, and mark them that cause Divisions among them, to restrain their furious and carnal heats in prosecuting their own private apprehensions, to the reproach of Religion, and Disturbance of Mankind.

Fourthly, *Such ways to preserve Peace, can never be to the destruction of those who in sincerity desire to Love and obey Christ, although they should mistake in their apprehensions of some few things, &c. For (1.) It is not true (which these writers say)*
that

that such persons are concluded under "*an unavoidable mistake*;
and being not so, they will in sincerity endeavour after a full
and clear information in those things that are pleaded to be ac-
cording to the mind of Christ. (2.) All such persons will in that
Christ an humility which the Spirit of Christ works; not oppose
their private apprehensions to the judgment and practise of that
Church of God, from which they have received the Doctrine of
Salvation, and therefore will not think of themselves above what they
ought to think, but think soberly according as God hath dealt to them
the measure of faith. And being thus lowly in their own eyes
knowing themselves lyable to mistakes and errors; they will not
be so fond of their own apprehensions, as for their sakes to bring
a scandal upon the Church of God, and set the World in Flames.
Besides, (3.) having a desire to Obey God, they will be careful
to testify their obedience in a manifest and undeniable Duty, as is
the Peace and Unity of Christians, and obedience to Gover-
nours: and not think to justify the breach of that, with the
observance of what their singular and private apprehensions re-
present; especially being secur'd, that the Church from whom
they differ, do retain all things necessary to salvation: as
these men do profess they agree with the Church of England in
all things of that degree. Therefore such persons are secur'd
enough from those severities which are necessary to preserve
the Peace of a Church and Nation. And such sincere, humble
enquirers after Truth, and those that walk up to what they have
already attained, are the only persons dear to Christ. Not every
one that cries Lord, Lord; that pretend to preach and prophe-
sie in his name; for he himself hath told us, that he shall re-
ject the pleas of many such to his indulgence. And indeed
should every one that is so kinde to himself, as to publish to the
World, that he in sincerity desires to obey and love Christ, be
believed upon his own word, and have an indulgence for his
differing practises, the greatest Impostors that ever appear'd
among Christians, must be permitted to practise their Cheats
and Impieties. For the *Gnosticks*, the *Manichees*, *Montanists*,
Circumcelliones of old, and those among us who are yet Red, and
polluted with the blood of their Lawful Sovereign, that viola-
ted the known Laws of the Land of their nativity, rob'd the

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Churches, and invaded the just rights of every one, within the compass of their lust, and their power. These I say would have persuaded the World, and, it may be, were so mad as to believe themselves, that they were the men that loved Christ, when in their works they did deny him. And yet (4.) It cannot be said that the gradual destruction, even of these men, is intended by such Laws, as do command nothing but what may be for the Security, Peace, and welfare of Christian Communities: and it is an high slander of any Law-givers, to say that they intended Punishment and not Obedience.

That instance of "*Christ's reproof to his Disciples, for being so forward to call Fire down from Heaven upon the neglectful Samaritans*", is altogether impertinent; especially as they interpret those words. *You know not of what Spirits you are, To be an unacquaintedness with their own Spirits, imagining that for Zeal, which was indeed self-Revenge.* So that in their Sense Christ reprov'd their revengeful Spirits. Now it cannot be said of Laws made to restrain violations of Peace, that they are the Dictates of Revenge, since Revenge looks at acts past, but Laws endeavour to prevent those to come.

SECT. 4.

No ground for Indulgences, in the Practice of the Apostles.

THe third Argument is drawn from the practice of the Apostles, whom we may well wonder, that they should be suspected as Patrons for indulgence of *Dissensions* and *Schisms* in Religion; Since we finde them describing the Authors of them, as *Monsters* and *Prodigies*, that dishonour the Generation they live in, and fill the place wherein they appear with confusion and danger, and threaten a Tempest at their first rising. Therefore the Apostles dealt with them as such in their dayes. For although they did not exercise on them *Coertions*, *Refrains*, and *Corporal punishments*, as these Writers wisely observe; because indeed they had no Temporal power: yet they used their *Ecclesiastical power* and delivered them over to Satan, which in those times was a giving them up to that Tormenter to be

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be afflicted in their flesh, a severer punishment than the Sword of the Magistrate can inflict. They commanded the sound Christians to avoid them as contagious Pests, and to cut them off as *cankered and infested members*, that would bring destruction to the whole body of the Church, if a just severity prevented them not; nay they call'd for Gods assistance to cut off these troublers of the Israel of God: *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* They also commended nothing more to the conversation of Christians than Peace and Unity, *to minde the same things, to walk in one minde, to follow after those things that made for Peace, and Edification*, which are impossible to be attained in Dissensions. It would be very strange therefore, to imagine, that they who do all this to Dissensions, should yet give any ground for an Indulgence of them.

Rom. 16. 18.
1 Tim. 6. 4.

Gal. 5. 12.

But yet these men have found out, "that St. Paul is for this forbearance Phil. 3. 15, 16. Which Text, if they had faithfully set down, would have discovered their Sophistry. For the Apostle saith, *Let us therefore as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, the Lord shall reveal even this unto you.* Nevertheless whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule; let us mind the same things. Here it is plain that those to whom the Apostle commends Forbearance one to the other, were those whom he calls perfect; and such certainly could not be persons that had separated from a mutual Communion, for all such Divisions he brands as carnal. 1 Cor. 3. And the Dividers as men not perfect, and at best but babes; nay he calls them in the beginning of that very Chapter, *Dogs, Evil workers*, and in scorn, the *Circision*, and therefore bids them have a care, and beware of them; and in the following verses weeps over them as *Enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction*. These are not words of forbearance and Indulgence, and therefore that place gives no countenance to it.

But then they urge, "That the whole Society of the Apostles observing the difference between the Jewish and Gentile Believers to prevent any Evil Consequent in their Assembly at Jerusalem, assigned to the several parties, their particular bounds how far they should accommodate themselves unto one another by a mutual

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"*al Condescension that they might walk in peace.* What is all this to an indulgence of those who have forsaken the Communion of the Church, and who write, preach, and do all they can against it. The Case is far unlike. The *differences* between the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Beleevers had brought, as yet, no evil Consequent, for they themselves say, "*the Apostles consulted to prevent any evil Consequent.* Let the world judge whether the Differences among us have not brought upon us a large series of such Consequents. The Apostles determined, and set bounds and measures of forbearance to prevent a *Schism*, then which nothing was more dreadful to the Church; and these men would have forbearance and Indulgence to a *most dangerous schisme already made*, that so it might with impunity be continued.

SECT. 5.

The Primitive Christians did not allow Indulgence.

With far less success, but with more art do they endeavour to make the first Christians to speak for them, from whom they bring some passages: yet do not tell us where we also may find those Testimonies, nor give us the words of the Authors, for fear they should be reprehended. "*Socrates the Historian (say they) gives us a long Catalogue of differences in External Rites of Worship, which they looked upon as no breach of Union at all.* To which we say, that That Historian doth tell us indeed that the Churches of several Provinces, had different observations of the feast of *Easter*, of the measure of Fasts before that Feast, and of the different meats they did abstain from, but so that one observation was in the whole *Roman Church*, another was kept by those in *Illyrium*, all *Greece* and *Alexandria*, &c. Which we easily admit, for we grant to every Church their particular Rites. Our Rites in the Church of *England*, are not press'd upon those in *Scotland*, nor those in *Ireland*; and we do not think our Union with the Protestant Churches abroad, is broken by their different Ceremonies. Therefore the Practice of the first Churches,

1. 5. c. 22.

Οι μὲν γὰρ ἐν
Ῥώμῃ περὶ τῆς
τῆς πάσχα ἑβ-
δόμεναι, &c.
Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυ-
ρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ
Ἰνδιᾷ, καὶ οἱ ἐν
Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ,
&c.

ches is maintain'd by us and not violated. But they can neither out of *Socrates* nor any other Historian of those times give us an instance of any one National or Provincial Church, that did indulge those within their jurisdiction who professing Christianity, did yet condemn her Orders, and separate from her Communion, and did declare her Rites in Worship, Idolatrous, Superstitious, and Antichristian, which is now our Case.

Then they bring in "*Victor Bishop of Rome as branded for disturbing the peace of the Churches by dividing their Communion.*" They tell us not for what he was censured, either because they knew it not, or because they know it would do them no good; The Case was this. All the Churches of the lesser *Asia* by an ancient Tradition did on the fourteenth day of the Moon observe the Feast of our Saviours Passover, and upon whatsoever day of the week that happened to fall, they ended their Fasts. This custom was observed in no other Church throughout the whole World; for in all the rest, that custom which was delivered by the Apostles, was continued, as *Eusebius* saith, to his time. Notwithstanding this difference, the several Churches had preserv'd Peace and Communion; among themselves, as *Irenaeus* saith of *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telesphorus*, *Sixtus*, Bishops of *Rome*, who had received *Polycarp* and others of the *Asiatics* that came to *Rome*, to Communion not contending about that Rite. But afterwards when a controversy was moved about it, and both sides in different Councils decreed for their own practice, and sent their Letters to justify themselves to the other Churches: *Victor* heated with the letter of the *Asiatics*, without consulting the other Bishops of his own Perswasion, excommunicates all the Churches of *Asia* as Heretodox: This displeased all the other Bishops, who commanded him to consult the peace and union of the Brethren. Now what in all this concerns us. *Victor* was to be blamed for breaking a long continued Peace, for invading the Liberty of other Churches; but none would have condemned him, had he required obedience from the members of his own Church, to the Orders and Canons made by Councils of those who were over them in the Lord.

Εμ. 1. c. 25.
 'Αλλ' ὁ πῶς
 τις διακρίσει
 τοὺς ἑσθλούς
 ἀπὸ τῶν κα-
 λῶν; ὁ δὲ
 αὐτὸς τὸ
 εἰρήνης, καὶ
 ὅτις πλεονε-
 χῇ ἡ ἀ-
 γάπη τοῦ
 Θεοῦ.

For

Jul. l. 5. c. 16.
 ὡς τοῖς περ-
 ἀουτοῖς ἐπὶ-
 γινώσκ.

For *Irenæus* in his Epistle to *Victor* to dissuade him from breaking Communion with the Churches of another observation, tells him that his Predecessors *Anicetus*, *Pius*, &c. kept the Communion entire, although they did not observe those Churches Rites, nor suffered those among them to observe them. And if the infamy of *Victor* is to be a terror to any, it must be to those who break the Communion; and it is plain who they are that have done that among us.

Origen is the next whom they would make the world believe, is for their cause; but they are forced to make a testimony for him which he himself never writ, viz. "That there ever were differences amongst Professors of Christianity from the beginning; and that it was impossible but that there should so be, which yet he shews, hindered not their Faith, Love, and Obedience. For when *Celsus* did upbraid and reproach the Christians, because of their many Sects, (as Atheists and Papists do now to us) *Origen* gives some reasons of them, and then confesses indeed that "There were Differences among Christians from their beginning, but then he doth not say what these writers say for him, "That it was impossible but that there should so be; for this would have been to have given the lye to the Holy Ghost, who in the *Acts* c. 4. v. 32. saith That the multitude of them who believed, were of one heart and one soul; and therefore what was then, might be again, and so could not be impossible. Neither doth *Origen* say, much less shew, that these differences, "hindered not their Faith, Love, and Obedience. For the Heresies which he thought *Celsus* had respect unto, and grounded his reproach upon, were the *Ophite* and *Cainite* to whom *Origen* denies the very name of Christians.

They pretend also a kindness from "Justin Martyr, who, (they say) in his second Apologie, declares his forbearance and the Churches of those dayes, towards those who believing in Christ, yet thought themselves obliged to the observation of Mosaical Rights and Ceremonies. But this is an open abuse both of Justin and the Reader, for there are no words in that Apology tending to that purpose, and such indeed would have been impertinent, and besides his subject in that Apology; and lastly had he said, what he doth not, it would not have been of advantage to Indulgence.

Igna.

Ignatius also is used no better by them, whom they would have to say, that "to persecute men on the account of God and Religion, is to make our selves conformable to the Heathen that know not God. Whereas Ignatius saith no word like it, but that which makes against them. * If anyone (saith he) follows him that hath made a Schism, he shall not inherit the Kingdom of God: If any one walks in a different opinion, he is not compliant with the sufferings of Christ. *Ignat. Ep. ad Phila delphinac. Eὐ τις χιζοντα* Theſe are the words of Ignatius, who in that place by many arguments urges them to continue in the Unity of the Church, *βασιλειαν θεῷ ἐκκλησιονομήσει.* and therefore could not at the same time speak for indulgence of those who did break that Unity. But those words which they refer to, are the words of the Interpolator of Ignatius. For they are not in Vossius's Edition of Ignatius, nor in that Latin Copy which Bishop *Ussher* thought to be Authentick: but they are in that corrupt Copy, set forth by him; yet so set forth and noted in Red Characters, that no man could take them for Ignatius's, but he that had a mind to prevaricate. Which in civil converse is an infamous crime, but in Religion we want a name to express its baseness.

Then they huddle up many witnesses together, *Tertullian*; *Origen*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius* "Who (say they) pleaded for a Liberty in Religion, as founded in the Law of Nature, and the inconsistency of Faith with Compulsion. But where these Authors say such things, they do not tell us; and the former discoveries show how little reason we have to take their bare Words. But whatsoever those Authors may say to justify Christian Religion, even by the Law of Nature; and that the light of Reason could finde nothing in it that deserved persecution: Yet I shall not believe, that they ever said, the Law of Nature did give to any persons ground for Liberty of different Opinions, and practises, contrary to the Rules and Orders of that Christian Church, wherein they lived, until I see their own words for it. And of these certainly *Tertullian* can have no great favour for them, who is so severe against *Hereticks* in his Book de *Prescriptione*, that he will not allow them the name of *Christians*; *recipiuntur in* and saith, that they were not received to peace and Communion in the Churches that were any way Apostolical. If therefore we may judge of the rest by one, we have no reason to think they are for the Indulgence, till we see it under their hands. *Ter de Prescrip. Hæret. c. 37. Si Hæretici sunt, Christiani non sunt. Ib. c. 32. Ita omnes Hæreses, nec recipiuntur in pacem & communionem, ab Ecclesiis quoquo modo Apostolicis.*

D Af.

A Continuation of the

After these they bring the "*Synod of Alexandria in the Case of Athanasius, who did (as they say), Condemn all External force in Religion, and Reproached the Arians as the first Inventors, and Promoters of it.*" The Shamefulness of this Allegation will appear to the Reader; If he take notice, that this *Synod*, made no Acts nor Canons, for the Histories of it mention none, nor are any Extant; and therefore their Judgment in this Case was not definitive. Their main business was to inquire into the Slanders which the *Arians* had raised against *Athanasius*, and to bear witness against them, they being competent to this, as being Members of the same Church, and conversant with him in his offices. This their Testimony they published in a *Circulatory Letter* to all the Bishops of the *Catholick Church*, and to their beloved Brethren in Christ. In this Epistle they speak not at all concerning *External force in Religion*, nor do they say the *Arians* were the first inventors of it. For they only complain of the *Arians* for offering to the Emperour, Letters that did accuse

* *Siquidem jam denuo Accusatrices Litteras contra Athanasium Imperatoribus porrexere, iteratis calumniis homicidia ei obijcientes quae nunquam facta sunt; ac denuo illum conjurationibus suis opprimere student.*

* *Tota enim eorum accusatrix Epistola nihil aliud nisi necem spectat, aut necem molitur si ipsis liceat, aut saltem exules facere, &c. Ista opera Ethnorum sunt, & non vel tenuiter Christianorum, & minime omnium Episcoporum, quos aliis justitiam commonstrare oportuit.*

* *Athanasius of Murders which were never done, that by that means they might take away his life by the Sword of Justice.* And as to this, not to any force of the Emperour about Religion, they say, * *Their whole Libel designs nothing else but slaughter, as much as in them lies, or else banishment, &c. Those are works of Heathens, and not of the meanest Christians, much less of Bishops, whom it becomes to be patterns of Justice to others.* Now what is all this which is spoken of bloody Slanders, to the force

which restrains different Apprehensions from disturbing Practises. Let the Reader see if he can, for I cannot, finde any thing to their purpose in that *Synodical Epistle*; and if these Writers had intended sincerity, they would have given us the very words which made for them, and I conceive they did not, because they could not. Thus of these Testimonies out of that ancient Christians, some are meer Fictions, the alledged Authors having no such words as these are cited to have. Thus *Justin Martyr, Origen, Ignatius*, and the *Synod of Alexandria* are abused. *Tertulian:*

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lian, Arnobius, Lactantius, brought in as Witnesses without any Testimony. *Socrates* the Historian, and the Instance of *Victor* impertinently mention'd. Truth stands not in need of such low shifts.

SECT. 6.

The first Christian Emperours were against Indulgence.

HAVING done with Churchmen, They come to Emperours. And first they lay hold of that Edict of *Constantine*, who having a mind to deliver the oppressed *Christians* from the persecutions of the *Gentiles*, and not finding it safe, as yet to appear particularly in their favour, having then *Licinius* and *Maximinus* Collegues in the Empire, both still enclined to *Gentilism*, He prevails upon *Licinius* to joyn with him in this Publick Edict, That Liberty of Worship was not to be denied to any; and that it should be permitted to every mans will to embrace what Rites and *Institutes* of Religion they pleased; and that the *Christians* as well as all others might observe the Faith of their own Religion. But when he found that this did not fully secure the *Christians*, and it being general, as also ambiguous, so that for all this, many of them for fear did deny the faith. When they came to *Milan*, they did make another Explanatorie Edict, more fully in the favour of the *Christians*, That the Liberty of Embracing the Religion of *Christians* should be denied to no man. Now let any reasonable men judge what they can gain for their Cause, from this Edict, which only gives a liberty to *Christians* in General, as well as to *Idolaters*, and speaks nothing of any Sects and Dissenters among the *Christians*. But they say, "until the latter end of his Reign, there were no thoughts of exercising Severity, with reference unto any Divisions among *Christians* about the Worship of God. Where they will fix the Epocha of the end of his Reign, they do not tell us; but this we are certain of, from the best Authors, that having not made his Edict for the Liberty of *Christians* in general, till the 8th. year of his Reign; and so publicly owned their Profession: He did in his 11th. year, and not long after the first Council of *Arles*, make severe Edicts. For *Parmenianus* the Donatist complained that *Constantine* commanded those of that Sect, to be led forth to Punishment. They were also banished by him, about the same time. For in the Conference at *Carthage*, they urged the Letters of *Constantine* to *Verinus*, otherwise *Valerius* the Prefect

Euseb. Hist. l. 10. c. 5.

Aug. Cont. E-pist. Parm. l. c. 7.

Aug. Brevic.
Collat. 31. Diei
c. 5.

Aug. Cont. Li.
teras Petil.
l. 2. c. 92.

of Africa, that he should free them from Banishment, and leave their fury to the Judgment of God; Which Letters St. *Augustine* saith, were dated four years and six moneths, after the decree of Banishment: 30. Non. *Maj.* *Crispus* and *Constantine*, being the second time Consuls. And therefore *Constantine* had dealt severely in such cases, in the eleventh year of his Reign, which was long before the end of it; for it lasted about 32 years. Besides, *Constantine* took from them about this time, those Churches, which by their flattery of *Julian*, they afterwards recovered; by all which it appears, these Gentlemen are foully mistaken in the forbearance of *Constantine*.

They erre as grossly when they say, that "After the rise of the Arian Heresie, when the Interposition of Civil censures upon the account of Difference about things Spiritual had made an entrance, by the Sollicitations of some for the Banishment of *Arius*, and some of his Copartners, it is not easie to relate what miseries and Confusions were brought upon the Churches thereby, &c. For this is contradictory to their own testimony which they brought from the Synod of *Alexand*; whom they will have to reproach the *Arians* as the first Inventors of external force: and now they will have the Orthodox make an entrance for it, (which in common sense is to begin it) for they were the zealous Solicitors for the Banishment of *Arius*. But as that was a false Testimony; so this is a false remark on the Histories of those times. For if by External Force they mean the Use of the Civil Power, to remove men of different apprehensions from their Offices and the Emoluments of the Church, this was used by Christians long before the Arian Heresie arose, or the Emperours became Christians. For when *Paulus Samosatenus* was condemned for an Heretick by a second Synod at *Antioch*, and deposed from his Bishoprick, yet refusing to deliver up the Bishops House that belonged to that Church, they craved aid from the Emperour *Aurelianus* an Heathen. Who commanded that possession should be given to him, to whom the Bishops of Italy and Rome should determine, and so saith *Eusebius*, *Paulus Samosatenus* was with great disgrace turned out by the secular Power. For no other end was the Civil Power solicited in the Case of *Arius*. For after all means used to reclaim the Hereticks, by from

Euseb. l. 7. c. 30.

private Admonition, by *Provincial Councils*, by *Exhortatory Letters* from the *Emperour* to peace and Unity ; yet Ambition, Vanity, and Opiniastrete still propagated the Error, to the shame of Religion, the disquiet of the World, the grief of that Christian Prince, and his Obstruction to noble designs. The Emperour is solicited to call that Famous Council of *Nice*, wherein *Arius* his Heresie was condemned, and a Creed composed to which all subscribed at first, except five. Who notwithstanding afterwards did in a Petition present their recantation, and subscribed to the Creed, so that the Catholick Faith was agreed to by all : and all subscribed to the Condemnation of the Heresie, as also to the *Anathema* of the Heretick, except *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice*, who thereupon were by the Council condemn'd and deprived of their Sees, and others substituted in their places. *Constantine* interpoling nothing herein, but putting the Decree of the Council in Execution, and expelling these men from those places where they might disturb the peace of the Church. Yet afterwards these persons upon their submission were restored again to their Churches. This was all the External force which the Orthodox Christians made use of, in which no Set can find any thing blameable, since they all have, and will still, use the same in their seasons.

But if by *External Force* they mean the violencies of Fire and Sword, and all those tortures and rigors, which enemies mutually use one against another: this the orthodox gave no entrance to, but the *Arians* did first practice it, and did go beyond all pattern and provocation from the *Catholicks*. For these only secured the publick peace, against such who were in some lawful Synod condemn'd as corrupters of that Faith once delivered to the Saints : by depriving them of their Offices in the Church, removing them from those places of their Conversation, where they might either corrupt others, or make a publick disturbance, and restraining their Conventicles and meetings. Now this could not justify the *Arians*, who beyond all this, having prevailed with *Constantius* to embrace their Heresie, did put a force upon Councils to determine what they pleased, as the Council of *Arles*, the Council of *Milan*, and *Byterris* : in

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which having refused to admit an enquiry into the Faith and Doctrine of *Athanasius*, and denying to subscribe to the *Niceene Creed*: they would notwithstanding force the Orthodox to subscribe to his condemnation against common reason. And upon this account they banished *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Osius*, and *Paulinus*, the most eminent Bishops of the World, Besides the cruelties they committed at *Alexandria*, and branding Churchmen with the marks of those condemned to the Mines: they sent out their Notaries to force both Bishops and people to subscribe, upon the pain of Plundering, Imprisonment, and publick shames. So that *Hilarie* saith, the Emperours war against *Persia* was shorter then that against *Alexandria*, where the Cruelties of the Heathen Persecutors were acted over again. This was the External force of the *Arians*, for which the Catholicks gave them no precedent. And this was that force for which *Hilarie* writ both to, and against *Constantius*. For he wrote after the Council of *Milan*, and was banished in that of *Byzerria*. And therefore his words to *Constantius* concern not our Magistrates who use not his Cruelties, but condemn his practices. These doing no more then what Orthodox Princes have done ever since there were such in the Church. Besides, I must mind the Reader that the words of *S. Hilarie* cited by these Writers, are not a continued part of *Hilaries* discourse, but a Rhapsodie out of several places, which if considered with the context, will appear not to serve the ends they were brought for.

Valens his cruelty was no more justifiable by any practices of the Catholicks, then that of *Constantius* could be. *Arianism* found his nature cruel, and did, as all Heresies, inflame him higher to a more importunate thirst for blood, and direct all his savageness against the Orthodox. But these Gentlemen are miserably out, when they say "*Themistius* the Philosopher upon the principles of Common Reason and Honesty plainly told *Valens*, "That by the way he used, he might force some to venerate his "Imperial Robes, but never any to worship God aright. For this was not spoken to *Valens*, but in a Consular speech to *Jovian*, to whom *Valens* succeeded. And that not to restrain his Cruelty, but to extol that Prince, as being above all the arts of Flatterers; in that

that he told the several parties of Christians (whom *Themistius* meant by flatterers) making their first addresses to him when he was *Emp'our*. That he would trouble none of what Faith soever, but he would have the greatest kindness for those who should endeavour most for the Unity of the Church; And the observation of *Themistius* thereupon was not grounded on the Principles of Common Reason and Honesty: but was a meer Scoff and Jeer, (so much contempt doth Dissentions expose Christianity unto) for his Words are, *They worshipped not God, but the Imperial Robe; and they were like an Eddie or Whirlpoole, that was harried one while this way, another that.* It is true indeed, *Themistius* laboured to restrain the cruelty of *Valens* towards all, as well as towards Christians, even in the beginning of his Reign; and he made the same attempt towards the latter end of it, advising him, *That he should not persecute the Orthodox Christians, because they differed from him.* And that by this Argument, *That he ought not to wonder at the Dissentions in Church-mens Opinions; because it was much less then that which was among the Gentiles, with whom there were above 300 different Opinions, and from such a multitude there must necessarily arise very many Contentions; and perchance it seemed fit to God, that it should be so; for when he would not easily be known, every one would the more reverence him, because they could not exactly comprehend him.* But I think this argument would not do well in the mouth of a Christian; Howsoever, this prevailed not upon him, wholly to forbear his Cruelty, though it somewhat allayed it; for he still was Barbarous to the Orthodox Clergie, and it was the troubles of his Empire, that hindered the further Executions of his Wrath on them.

There is no more truth in what they say next "*But the best Emperours in the mean time bewailed those fierce Animosities, whereby every Self and Party laboured to oppress their Adversaries, and kept themselves from putting forth their Authority against any Dissenters in Christian Religion, who retained the Foundation of the Faith in any Competent measure.*" For let the Reader but look in the Code of *Theodosius*, and he shall finde that there are no less then sixty two Laws made against *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*; and that of all the Emperours from *Constantine the Great* to *Valentinian the Third*, except, *Julian the Apostate*, (who fought

Soc. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 25.

Socr. Hist. l. 4. c. 32. Sozom. l. c. 36.

Cod. Theodosian. 16. Tit. 5. Edit. Lugd. 1664.

sought by a Toleration to ruin Christianity) *Constantius* and *Valens*, who were reputed Hereticks, and made Laws against the Catholick Christians. And these Laws were not only against such Hereticks as destroyed the *Foundation of the Faith*; but those also who, in a competent measure did retain it, as the *Aeriani*, *Auliani*, *Novatiani*, *Euchitæ*, and several of the same Nature; And besides these 62 Laws against Hereticks in general, There are *Severall Laws* against those that did *Rebaptize*. How securely therefore, (not to say unfaithfully) do these men say, that "the best Emperours did not put forth their Authority against Dis-senters in Religion.

But they say, "*Valentinianus* by publick Decree, granted Liberty "of Religion unto all Christians. For which they cite *Sozomen*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*. But this is said by neither. For *Sozomen*, l. 6. c. 6. (And the Adversaries tell us not any other place, there we should finde this Testimony) Saith only this, He was of the same Opinion with those of the Council of Nice, and these he did benefit, and to those that were otherwise perswaded, he gave no trouble. Here is no mention of a Publick decree.

Amm. Marc. l. 30. Inter Religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit.

Neither doth *Ammianus* speak of any such thing, but among the other Characters he gives that Prince at his Death, he describes his Moderation. That he unconcerned himself in the differences of Religion, nor did he disquiet any, &c. This of *Ammianus*, a Gentile, is to be understood of *Valentinian's* Toleration of Gentilism, which having been so much revived and caressed by *Julian*, was not presently to be depressed, lest it might burden the beginnings of his Empire, with too great difficulties. Besides, by such a general permission for a time he should more safely deliver Christianity from the Injuries the *Apostate* had done unto it. But I cannot see what reason these Protestants have to boast in a Toleration, that gives equal Priviledges to Idolaters, or Atheists, as themselves. As to that which *Sozomen* saith, that he gave no trouble to those that were otherwise perswaded it was in the beginning of his Empire also: for that he did not persevere in that Humor, appears by the several Laws, he made against Hereticks and Schismatics. That against the *Manichees*, for he commanded that wheresoever the meetings and company of *Manichees* should be, their Teachers being censured, the House and dwelling, where they were taught, should be confiscated in the ninth year of his Reign, and

Cod. Tb. l. 16. Tit. 5. l. 13.

and in the tenth he made another against *Rebaptizing*; Besides (1) *15. Tit. 6.* his Rescript to *Olybrius*, that he should forbid the Dissenters at Rome, *Lex prima.* to meet within twenty miles of Rome, And that to *Pratextatus*, whereby he commanded to banish *Ursicinus*: So that this, one of the Best Emperours did put forth his Authority against Dissenters in Religion.

The next they name is *Gratianus*, who they say made a Law, that Religion should be free to all sorts and Sects of Christians, except the Manichees, Photinians, and Eunomians. This instance makes against themselves; for their reasons which they use for forbearance, will make as well for Indulgence to the Manichees, Photinians, and Eunomians; because their apprehensions are not in their own power. Christ did not bid Coerce, nor banish those Sects; and the Apostles spoke nothing of them, nor against them: and yet they produce *Gratian* for one of the best Emperours that did except them from all Indul- *Cod. 16. Tit. 5.* gency. And indeed, he did not only except these, but he made *1. 4. 5.* three Laws against the Conventicles of all other Hereticks. *Olim (pro Religioe Catholicae Sanctitatis, ut Coetus haereticæ* Two of these Laws are in *Codex Theodosianus*; The first there expressed doth imply a Law made before against them; For these are the Words *We have heretofore commanded for the good of the usurpation Holy Catholick Religion, that the Assemblies of the Heretical Usur- quiescerent) pation should cease. Whether these meetings were held either in iussimus, sive in oppidis sive in Towns, or in the Countries, without those Churches which are of our agris extra Eg- Communion; all those places to be returned into our Exchequer, in clesias quas no- which by a false pretence of Religion, Altars were placed; which sibi Pax obtinet if it should happen (to be neglected) either by the Connivence of the conventus age- Judges, or by perverseness of the profane (Hereticks) there shall be reatur, publica- ri loca omnia in the same punishment for either cause. Here is a Law implied, which quibus falso Religiosis ob- is confirmed by this, and that Law is proved to be made by Gratianus, about the end of 375 year of our Lord, in which his tenui altaria Father being dead, he was Supreme in the Western Empire; locaveatur, and the Law here set forth, was about the year 378. While *Valens* was yet alive. But after the death of *Valens*, he going in- Quod sive dis- simulatione Ju- dendum, seu Pro- to the Eastern Empire, and finding the Corruptions there very favourum Impro- high, he was necessitated to Temporize, and there at *Sirmium* bitate, eadem erit lex utroque he made that Constitution which *Socrates* and *Sozomen* speak of, pernicies. of granting Liberty to all but the Manichees, Photinians, and Eu- *Cod. 16. Tit. 5.* nomians. *1. 5.**

A Continuation of the

romians. But he was not long in that minde, for he revers'd that, and made another *Law against all Hereticks*; which is the first Law against Hereticks, in *Cod. Theod.* Thus it appears that this other best Emperour *Gratianus* did put forth his Authority against Dissenters in Religion; and they have not found any one among those ancient Christian Emperours, that hath been for their Indulgence, but against it.

S E C T. 7.

*Indulgence not to be grounded upon the practice of the
Modern Emperours and Princes.*

BUT the Apologists having been abused themselves, or desiring to abuse us with an Opinion, that the Best Ancient Emperours were for Indulgence, with strange ill luck, or a monstrous inadvertencie say, *They (i. e. Ancient Emperours) have not been without their followers in those Ages, wherein the Differences about Religion have risen to as great an height, as they are capable of, &c.* And the following Princes whom they name are *Popish* Emperours, some of whom, they themselves brand with *Perfidiousness* and cruelty, as *Sigismund* and *Charles the Fifth*, and of the others *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian*, *Rodolphus*; they bring no clear Testimonies, that they did grant Liberty to all, and every Religion: or that they did abate the Cruelty and Rigour of the Laws that were made by their Predecessors, and were urged by the Popes, against Dissenters in Religion. So that they urge these great names only to amuse the unacquainted Reader: which judicious men will plainly see, are Witnesses, either that signify nothing, or else against them.

As for the blot upon *Sigismund's Honour*, in breaking his Word of *Safety* and *Liberty* to *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, it can no whit stain those Princes, who by publick Laws do openly forewarn their Subjects of falling into danger, and do not surprize them by any false, and base Practices.

Nor are we more concerned in the Events of *Charles, the Fifth's* sifting the World with Blood and Uprores, for the Extirpation of *Protestantism*. Since our Laws are not writ in Blood as
his

his was. Is there no difference betwixt an Emperours Invasions upon Free Princes, and Cities, and a Kings and Parliaments giving Laws to their own People? Suppose he were unhappy in the use of Power beyond the limits of Justice, is it not therefore Lawful to use a Power within its due bounds? But how can these Writers apply his Losses and Disappointments towards his latter end, as the issue of his designs against Protestantism? How do they know, (as they used to say) the minde of God in that Providence; Since a great persecutors of the truth, as he was, went to their Graves in outward Peace and glory. They cannot gather it from the Instruments of his Losses and Disappointments. For Maurice of Saxony had been one, though a Protestant, who had assisted him in his War upon the other Protestants, and had received as a reward of his ingratitude, the Dominions and Electorship of John Frederick Duke of Saxony, his kinsman; and this man did rather surprize him, then deal as a Generous Enemy. Charles's greatest Losses, was from Henry the second of France, a man more greedy of Protestants blood, then Charles had appeared to be. Lastly, Hislois were applied, by some Jesuites to his Injuries to Pope Clement the eighth, whom by his Armies he besieged in St. Angelo. So little ground have men to fix the Providences of God upon what they dislike. That they are casually applyed to contraries with equal probability.

"Ferdinand (they say) his Brother and Successor, kept the Peace of the Empire, by a constant Peace, granted to the Consciences of Men. They should have proved this by some Authentick History, for Sleidan tells us he was not very Indulgent to the Poor Bohemians: But they neither shew us how, and when he changed his minde; and when he gave an Indulgence, and reversed his Brothers decrees. Maximilian's saying (which they do not tell us from whom they learned it) i. e. That the Empire of Conscience belonged to God alone, wherein he would never interpose, Signifies nothing, unless his practice were agreeable to it, which they do not assert. His Counsel to Henry the Third of France returning out of Poland, was, (as Thuanus saith) That Thuanus Hist. in the beginnings of his Reign, and first entrance to France, he should establish Peace; for so said he, the dreadful memory of the past actions, would be abolished, and the Blame of them would be im-

judged rather to others than him. This amounts to no more than an Act of Oblivion, which yet we see among us, doth not settle our Peace. Or if it be to be understood of a Peace, as to Religion, it may be understood of a Forbearance, as to those Acts of Blood, which Henry had been guilty of; for he was one of the prime Actors in the great French Massacre of Protestants. For there we finde no Words of Maximilian, that signify granting an Indulgence to all Religions.

Neither do we finde what they say of the same Henry the third, "that he left it as his last Advice to his Counsellors; that they should no more with Force interpose in the matters of Religion. For Thuanus an Historian of unquestionable Credit, gives us his last Speech to his Counsellors, after he had been stab'd by Clement the Friar; in which there is not one word to that purpose. All that he saith is this, that the Cause of Religion should not terrify them from accepting Henry of Navarre to be their King, who had a right to be so; and in the Characters of this Prince, Thuanus saith, that he Prosecuted the Protestants with an irreconcilable hatred to his last End. How miserably are these Apologists put to it, to finde Friends for their Cause, when they are forced to pretend to a Kindness, that never was, from such an Enemy of Protestants as this was.

They do not tell us from what good Author they received the saying of Rodolphus the Emperour upon the defeat of his Forces. That he looked for no other Issue, since he invaded the Throne of God, by imposing on the Consciences of Men. But suppose it true, he might justly expect it, if he broke his Faith given to the Protestants before, or unjustly took from them the Peace his Predecessors had granted; And yet this is nothing at all to prove a necessity of Indulgence to those various Dissenters, to whom the Laws alwaies have denied it, and no Prince of ours ever granted to them, and who only had forced impunity to themselves, by an unjust Arms.

We condemn, as well as they, the Butcheries of the Duke of Alva: But we think the Toleration granted by Henry the fourth, can be no precedent for Indulgence to them; The Protestants in France had their Toleration granted long before, and were unjustly used in the breaking of their Peace. Henry the fourth

Thuan. Hist.
1. 96.

1b. Protestantes
irr. conciliabiles
odio usque ad
ultimum Spiritum
persecutus
est.

Fourth therefore restores them what was their own: and it had been strange if he should not, for he was obliged to it, by all the ties of Gratitude. He had been bred up in the same Religion, they had been his Support in all his Dangers, and were a Considerable part of his Strength against the *Holy League*. Let but the merits of our Dissenters to the Crown, be weighed with those; and if they can possibly appear equal, let them have what they deserve.

These are the *Wise and Mighty Monarchs*, whose practices they appeal unto, these are those that were followers of the Best Ancient Emperours; And yet none of these make any thing for them. It is a wonder that they could finde no Protestant Princes to be their Patrons, but they must be only for the Popish. It might have been expected, that among the Best, Mighty, and Wise Monarchs we should have found *Edward the sixth, Queen Elizabeth, and King James*; who by the confession of all sound Protestants, deserved well of their Profession: But these are left out of their Catalogue of best Princes, because these were not for their Indulgence. They conclude with an empty boast, "*The World is full of Instances of the like kinde*, which we cannot believe; for sure in such a multitude they might have found many more less impertinent than those they bring, or else they have no good judgment in their Choice: but such a confident boast was necessary to hide their real want.

Thus having examined their reasons, and Instances for Indulgence, I think it unnecessary to reflect upon their *Corollaries Harangues*, and their other observations; for their grounds being founde false, and naught, all their superstructures will fall of themselves. Neither do I envy them the prayses they make for themselves, (the greatest arguments they use to the People;) and therefore shall not contradict them: my designe being only to search for the truth, which I desire they may imbrace, and no longer seek to perpetuate their Schisms, to the unspeakable Dishonour of Christianity.

SECT. 8.

A Vindication of the Discourse of Toleration, from the Exceptions in the Second Discourse of Religion.

HAVING confirmed the *Discourse of Toleration* against those Arguments that are for Indulgence, It is requisite to justify it also against the Exceptions that are made against it in the *second Discourse of Religion*, whose Title boasts an *Answer* to it, but the following Treatise shews how frontless the Title Page is. For he hath not considered at all, those grounds upon which Toleration is unjustifiable, nor those reasons which show it against the Interest of this Nation; but rather endeavouring to delude his Reader then answer his Adversary, he hath selected only some few passages for the Subjects of his Contradiction, without considering that order and method, in which they stood, (and from which they received strength,) or the reasons which were added to their support. And against these Passages he seldom offers any reasons, but they are the matter of his Declamation, and occasions to suggest an *Odium* against his Opponent. He hath not been able to shew any Testimony that was cited, to be false; or any Instance alledged, to be Impertinent. Therefore the Discourser of Toleration did not think himself obliged in point of Reputation to reply to such weak exceptions, because he cannot distrust so far his Readers judgment; and for that he thinks that neither his own, nor the Adversaries credit is of that moment, as to spend his time, and concern the World in his writing for it: But he conceives his Obligations and Duties to the Truth, require that he should not desert it in so great an affront, nor suffer the People to be imposed upon by importunate Writers, to think that *Comprehension* and *Toleration* are proper methods for the *Union*, and fit means for the *Establishment* of this *Church* and *State*. For these are conceived to be Originally the Projects of such, who guilty of our late Troubles, have not yet laid down their Enmity to the *Establishment*: Although they may by some in the simplicity of their hearts, be embraced for such as they are pretended to be. By these last sort of men I would not be misunderstood, as if

Discourse of Toleration.

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I intended to obstruct the way to any who desires to enter into the Peace and Communion of the Church. For I shall esteem it a great mercy, if God should be pleased to incline the hearts of those that are Dissenters, to the true and proper wayes of Peace: and to joyn with us in promoting Truth and Righteousness in the Land, so that together with us they may enjoy the Comforts of Gods service, and the Emoluments of the Church. Although I cannot agree with them to think that these ways proposed by them will lead us to so happy a state. So that having no animosity against such Persons, nor even with this mine Adversary, all other Considerations, but those of the Cause in Controversie, being laid aside, the task will be but short. For avoiding all repetitions as much as may be, because tedious and nauseous to the Reader; I shall not meddle with what is a fresh printed on the Subject; Because therein the Author seems to judicious men *Cantilenam Canere*, repeat other words to the same Tune: but shall only answer to the exceptions he hath made.

SECT. 9.

The Dissenters are guilty of Dissentions.

First he would put off so much in the consideration of Toleration, as shews the Subject of it to be *Dissentions in Religion* which are remonstrated to be infamous in their Causes, and dreadfull in their Effects, and did therefore require the Magistrates care to obstruct the ruine they threatned, which could not be done by a Toleration, as appears by Instances new and old. All that he would wave with a most pitifull Shift of distinguishing between Dissentions, and Dissents, and saies, "*That those whose Liberty is in question, are not touched with that which is Written of the Nature of Dissentions, with their Causes and Consequences, and the Magistrates duty concerning them.*" Dissent indeed and Dissentions differ as the principle, and the actions flowing from that principle, as the Cause and the Effects, and may be separated one from the other. But with what faith, and what hope of being believed could this Author say, that the Dissenters

ters among us are not chargeable with *Dissent*; Since in the greatest Schisms, and most confessed Dissentions, there have not been worse Effects, then the Differences among us have produced. Has not Religion by reason of them, been the scorn of Atheists? What a multitude of Scandals do the divided parties raise upon those from whom they dissent? What Ruins did they bring upon the State, and what Persecutions of those who adhered to the Church? Besides the present practices, shew how little the *Non-Conformists* rest in a bare Dissent from the Publick Rule, when they have and do use their utmost endeavours to abrogate that Rule, to repeal the Laws, which establish it. When all those Ministers have relinquish'd the places of ~~their~~ Ministry, and most of them have set up private Congregations, by which they forsake the Communion of the Church. What truth or justice hath he, that dares deny these to be Dissentions, and that those men are not touched, by what is said of them?

It appears more fully that these men rested not in a bare Dissent, since their practices upon their Dissent, proceeded unto Faction, in State, and the several Kinds and measures of Dissentions were so many Factions: which was one of the four reasons that were given, why a Toleration of them was not for the Interest of this Nation. All the rest the Courteous Replyer passeth over in silence, and to this only he saies that *They are not so Originally and Radically, but by Accident. Some may take advantage to raise, and keep up Factions by them.* If they come to be such any way, the manner how they become so, is no alleviation to the misery they bring upon us. But besides the other reasons which were before given, it is plain, that there is in Dissentions of Religion, a natural aptitude to form a Faction; because we see Ambitious and Enterprizing men do alwaies make use of them, and that with success to such an end. For let but the Designer pretend the benefit of any one, or more Sects, and then he hath all those that are combined in their Conventicles, ready for his correspondence, and united to administer to his Ambition. Therefore those Factious men which lately overthrew our Laws and Government, did but pretend for the *Liberty of Godly, and Tender Consciences*, and break down that Govern-

Government which was set in the Church to restrain them, and then all those were presently devoted to them. And this was done before they did dare "to make that breach between the late King, and Parliament, and this was the opening of an Avenue to all our miseries, though it was some time after, that they did enact a Toleration for all persuasions except Popery and Prelacie.

This Gentleman answers not the reasons, which proved that Dissentions among us were become Factions, nor did he take notice that all those who have no good will to the State, are scattered among them that are Enemies to the Church. But he only proposes a different Consideration of the Non-Conformists, from the Papists, These last he saith, acknowledge a Foreign Jurisdiction, and have the refuges of Foreign Princes or States; But the Non-Conformist have not. Suppose this were true, yet Dissenters in Religion as we have seen, can form a Faction without the help of Foreigners, which by fraud and Force ruined the Ancient and Legal Government. And when these Factionous Persons have been disappointed; they have found Refuge in Foreign States, which have reserved them as fit Instruments to renew our Troubles, while they assaulted us. The late rising in Scotland doth evidence this; for all those that escaped the Publick Justice found entertainment in the Low Countreys.

SECT. 10.

That there is no Stability in the Principles of the Dissenters.

AFTER this he is angry that it was affirmed, *That the Principles of the Presbyterian Perswasion, do not admit of any Stability, but may be drawn out to Patronize the wildest Sects.* He rejects for this the Testimonies of Archbishop Whitgift, and Mr. Hooker, as being their eminent Adversaries; but he saith nothing of the argument brought from our own Experience. They were the first party among us that broke the Peace, and we know how their principles were flung in their Faces by the o-

A Continuation of the

ther Sects, who proceeded further and further upon their positions. The ground of those Wise Mens Observations, to whom may be added Dr. Sanderfon, was this principle of the Non-Conformists, *That the Scripture is, aequata agendorum Regula; so as nothing might lawfully be done without express Warrant, either from some command, or Example contained therein.* And let judicious men consider how far this may be drawn.

But then against this he instances in the *French, Dutch, and Helvetian Church*, which though *Presbyterian* keep themselves in *Orthodox Unity*.

To this we answer, that the Integrity and Unity of the Protestant Presbyterian Churches beyond the Sea, do not conclude to the soundness of the principles of that Party among us, no more than their miscarriages can disparage those Churches who disclaim them. For some do undertake to prove, that that Party among us, is a particular distinct Sect from all of that name beyond the Seas. And they produce this Testimony of a Foreign Learned Man *Ludovicus Capellus* who saith, *There are of late arisen in England certain Morose, Scrupulous, and too tender (not to say Superstitious) Men, to whom that Liturgie which their Church hath hitherto used, seems not only reprobable, but they have wholly abolished it, together with the whole Hierarchical Government of Bishops: and in its place have substituted that which they call their Directory.* And however they may agree with those abroad in some things: Yet they do not in this principle, which was observed to be the reason of their *Instability*. For 1. The *French Church's* sense, is express by M. Calvin.

We confess all and every Church hath just authority to make Laws and Injunctions, to constitute a Common Polity among themselves. 2. The *Dutch Church* doth not countenance such a principle For *Spanhemius* a Professor among them saith, *Every Church hath a Power that is not abrogated to make Laws; nor are all humane Traditions to be utterly proscribed, for Traditions of Doctrine are to be distinguished from those of Rites: the Church indeed hath no Legislative power about those things; yet it hath about these.* 3. As for the *Helvetian Churches*, this Discourser hath been told by the Learned *Durel*, in his Treatise p. 6. That they are not *Presbyterian*. For they have a Subordination of Ministers, as *Antitistes*

*Pub. Disp. Sa'm.
Part. 3. de Li-
turg. Nuperi-
vime exorti
sunt in Anglia
Morosi, scrup-
ulosi, &c.*

*Confes. Fidei
oblata Caesari,
&c. Inter opu-
scula Calvini.
Fatetur tum
omnes tum ei-
am singulas
Ecclesias hoc
jus habere, ut
Leges & statu-
ta sibi condant
Spanhem de Li-
berti Christiana.
Thes. 23.*

tiffites, Leans, Canons, Pastors who have the Care of Souls, and *Deacons*, as here amongst us in *England*; they have set forms of *Prayer, Holy dayes, Organs* and other instrumental *Musick*; and sure the principles of these men as well as their Practices are not *Presbyterian*, and those Churches that are, have not the principles of giddiness, which are maintained here. If the *Scotch Church* were so pure as the Author saith, we may assign their Purity to their Severities, which frighted all Dissenters of drawing their principles farther than they would endure.

In the next place, this Maxim, *That an Indifferent thing becomes unlawfull by being commanded*; which was said to be common among the Dissenters, gives us little hopes of Stability. For since some things Indifferent, (*i. e.* neither commanded nor forbidden by God) will necessarily fall into practice in the Worship of God, and through the weakness of men there may, and will arise contradictory Opinions, and so consequently through Interest, Humour, and Corruptions, Dissentions about them: if there be no power left to the Church to determine those things, and whatsoever she determines doth therefore become sinful, as these men imagine, what way is left to us to come to an Establishment, and what hopes of Peace and rest between the contending Parties, when none can determine and enjoyn? That this Maxime is common among them this Author doth not deny, but only gives us the Speech of some of them, out of Papers they have printed, Which does not disown what was imputed to them, but by several ambages seek to hide their sense in that point. But I conceive their judgment in this point is clear under their own hands; when in the Conference at the *Savoy*, Where this Proposition, *That command which commandeth an Act in it self Lawfull, and no other Act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoyned, nor any Circumstance whence directly or per accidens any Sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of Commanding an Act per accidens unlawful, nor of Commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty*, was denied by the joynt Content of those who disputed for the Non-Conformists. Let this be considered whether this be sound speech that cannot be proved?

A Continuation of the

Another ground of discouragement from having any hopes of Stability, by admitting their Comprehension, is their shyness to give us the particulars wherein they will rest, and what will satisfy them to an acquiescence. For though the Discourser saith *“that the propounded Latitude, leaves out nothing necessary to secure the Churches Peace:”* Yet he refuses to give us the boundaries of his Latitude; and putting us off as he did before with these General things, necessary to Faith and Life, and godly Order, he quarrels the Answerer for saying *this Establishment is not enough for settlement, because it doth not secure the Churches Peace.* Yet he doth not answer any thing to that which proved it, as the Instance of the present Dissentions: Wherein though the Church of England and the Presbyterians agree in things necessary to Life, Faith, and Order: Yet we finde no peace betwixt them. To which we may add, that the Presbyterians, and Independents have a further agreement, yet there was no peace among them, but they mutually writ and preached one against the other, the first declaring and petitioning, that the last should not have a Toleration, and the last by Subtlety, and force weakening and exposing the first to Contempt and Ruin. And therefore sure there is something else necessary to Peace.

It was also instanced that in Government and Worship in both which some particulars are not absolutely necessary, there might arise Differences. This he doth not disprove, but replies with gravity, *“Verily it may much amuse one to think what that thing should be in the Ecclesiastical Polity which is not necessary to the Christian Faith, and Life, or Godly Order in the Church; and yet necessary to secure the Churches Peace.* To take of this amusement, let it be considered how the Great things of Christianity, differ from the peace of the Church. The Principles of Faith, Good Life and Order are the Foundation of that Christian Society which is the Church. But Peace being as the agreement and mutual fitness of all the parts of the edifice must necessary be of larger extent. There may be breaches in an House, where the Foundation remains firm and entire; and there have been often fierce contentions among Christians that yet have agreed in things necessary to Salvation, and essential to Christian

ian Worship. These truths of Faith, and principles of Life have a continual existence; and though the World should not receive them, and wicked men Contradict them: yet they have still their being in Nature, and are commensurate with Eternity. But peace may be, and (as experience tells us) is but Temporary. In civil Societies the meanest and vilest Persons have been able to make Seditions and Murinies, even to the overthrow of an Established Government; and we may finde Schisms and Divisions have been made in the Societies of Christians by persons, who through Ignorance have wrested the Scriptures, and men of perverse minds whose glory was their shame, and that also upon things of the least moment. Look upon those *Catalogues of Hereticks and Schismaticks* that are given us by *Epiphanius, Augustine and Philaster*, and you will finde many of them have been not only Infamous in their Authors: but also Contemprible in their Occasions and grounds of their Separation. Nay, if you will look upon those recorded in Scripture, you may soon perceive, from how small occasions the Contentions, and divisions did arise in the Church of *Corinth*, about *Paul*, and *Apollos*, and *Cephas*, and *Christ*, about the vaying of Women, at Religious Assemblies, and those contentions in the celebration of the Sacrament. He that is a considering person, will not be amused to think that there is something necessary for the Churches Peace, that is not necessary for Faith and good Life and Order.

We are yet further discouraged as to any hopes of Stability by the Position published by some of the Dissenters, and particularly by this Discourser, "*That the Church doth not claim an Inf. libility; and therefore she cannot settle the Conscience, by her sole Warrant, but still leaves room for doubting; and this he urges as a reason why she should not prescribe forms and Rites of Religion, and if she doth, the Conscience that doth its office will interpose and concern its self; and it being unsatisfied, Fairs, and Rents will follow.*" This Argument is borrowed from the Popish Writers, who to reduce the Protestants that deny the Infallibility of their Church to an absurdity, argue that *If the Church be not Infallible, she can propose nothing whereof any man may be assured it is True or False, but is left to his own Witt and Discourse.* Thus those

those who profess so great an hatred of the Papists, do yet take up their Arguments for Doctrins and Positions, when they will serve their turn against the Church of *England*; But to prove how false it was, that *Whosoever is not infallible, cannot settle the Conscience*, supposing that by to *Settle*, this Author understood to *oblige*, there was shew'd how many absurdities must needs follow; for all Government in State, and Families, and the grounds of mutual Commerce, would be overthrown by it. To all which he answers by a pitiful Distinction, betwixt *Obliging or Binding the Conscience, and settling it or leaving no room for doubting*; For *Conscience (saith he) may be obliged, when it is not settled*. By this reply I am now satisfied, that his Ignorance is greater then his Malice which I doubted before. For 1. Here he supposes, that to *settle*, so as to leave no room for doubting, is the effect of a Law commanded by a just and Lawfull Authority, which is false. Because many of the Laws of God, and of our Saviour, who are Infallible, did not nor do attain this effect; For there have been, and may be doubts concerning them in the consciences of holy and good men; And of this we have an Instance in the Apostles. Christ had given them a Command *To go and Preach to all Nations, and Baptize them, &c.* This Command did oblige them to teach the Gentiles: yet St. Peter doubted whether he should go to *Cornelius* a Gentile: to show him the things of Christ: and was therefore taught by a Vision not to scruple it. The same doubt did also perplex the other Apostles and Brethren, who therefore call'd St. Peter to an account, as having done that which he ought not to do, and were not settled, that is left not of their doubtings, till St. Peter had acquainted them with the Vision, and miracle of giving the Holy Ghost to the Gentiles. So that it is evident that to settle the Conscience, is not the effect of Law even from an Infallible Authority; this rather is to be the work of a Teacher, then of a Lawgiver. For the proper and immediate effect of a Law is to *Oblige* and binde, that is, to *impose a Necessity of Obedience upon Men*, who if they do not obey, do sin, although they doubt. 2. He has now rendred his opinion far more odious, and of more dangerous, and absurd consequence, then it was before. For if whosoever cannot settle the Conscience, so as there

As left no place for doubt, ought not to prescribe, or give Laws: and if they do give Laws, although the Conscience is obliged by them, yet it may interpose and concern it self, so as to cause Rents or Jarrs; Then neither an Infallible, nor Fallible Authority can prescribe Rites, and forms of Religion; because it may so be, that the Conscience may still doubt, and so not be settled. Now what hopes of stability from men of such a perswasion? Since the Stability of every Society is founded upon the just Commands of Superiors, of things within their Power, and the Peoples Obligation to obey such Commands: which is overthrown by this position: and a doubting Conscience can strip the Magistrate of his Authority, and quit the People from Obedience.

SECT. II.

There was a necessity of Enjoying, and there is also of Continuing the Ceremonies.

WHen these men have call'd the Churches Authority into Question, then they do her prudence, for making *Injunctions that are not at all necessary*. To this was shewed, that at the beginning of the Reformation there was a necessity of such Injunctions; because there being Controverties about them, the Church was to consult her Peace, and did it, by cutting off some Ceremonies, and retaining some which were enjoy'd to the Common observance of all. That the number of those for Ceremonies was the greatest, as comprehending all those who staid at home, and did not fly in the time of Queen Maryes persecution. That they were the greatest Number the Adversary did not dare to deny, but without any Testimony he saith, that "*such as Dissented from the Ceremonies at that time had their Assemblies for the Worship of God in this Land*". If he had proved this by some good Record, it had been more for his credit: but when he only saith it, we do him no wrong, if we believe him not, when he asserts that which he could not know without a Witness.

It was said also, That the Party against Ceremonies was but small, *Ecclesia Rest. An Reg. Mar. as being but few of those that fled beyond Sea*. For the number of those
3. P. 59. 60.

those that fled are computed to be but 800. These were dispersed in the several Cities of Germany as *Emden, Stratzburg* and *Frankfort* and among the *Switzers* at *Arrow, Zurich,* and *Geneva*. At *Frankfort* it is said, they first began the Alteration of the *English Liturgy*; those at *Geneva* complied, it is like, with the Authority of *Mr. Calvin*; yet not satisfied with what was done at *Frankfort*. But those of *Stratzburg, Zurich* and *Emden* plainly signified to those of *Frankfort*, that they resolved to maintain the Order of the Church of *England*; So that by this account they could be but few. But the Discourser saith "it is not true, Because the same Historian saith that many who were disaffected to Episcopacy, were raised to great Preferments. But the many there spoken of, were only of the Number that had spent their time of Exile in such forreign Churches as had followed the Platform of *Geneva*; and those he reckons to be but five, the *Queens Professor* in *Oxford*, the *Lady Margarets* in *Cambridge, Whittingham, Sampson, and Hardiman*. Of which the two last were soon turn'd out again as incorrigible Non-Conformists: the rest it seems did conform, notwithstanding their Different Perswasions; which was an evidence that they did not think the Ceremonies to be so contrary to a good Conscience, that they were bound either to desert their Station in the Church, and Ministry to Gods Glory; or to disturb the Peace of Christs flock, rather then observe those enjoyned Rites. So also did those mentioned in the Letter to *Mr. Hooker*, and therefore can be no Instances of Non-Conformity, and of disturbing the Peace in the Church.

It is also true, and therefore no wrong done, That the Party against Ceremonies, caus'd the Troubles at *Frankfort*, and brought Valde absurdum a dishonour to the Reformation, and Infamy on the Nation; for est, inter fratres *Mr. Calvins* Letter to them at *Frankford*, charges these things ob eandem fidem upon them, and this was Written, Feb. 1. 31. and *Dr. Cox* with a patriâ Exu- his party, who brought in the Liturgy, came not thither till les ac profugos March 13. following; therefore if *Mr. Calvin* wrote truth, diffidium oriri. there were troubles among them, before the Conformists came thither.

It is a strange Confidence this Author takes, to deny, That in the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, things were so settled in the

the Church of England, to please each party in the abolishing some, and the retaining other Ceremonies. For the Compilers themselves, (who certainly deserve in Charity to be credited in what they say concerning their own motives and Sentiments,) do after they had declared the different opinions of men about Ceremonies, say, *It was thought expedient not so much to have respect how to please and satisfy either of these parties (that is, singly,) or gratify their humours, as how to please God, and to profit them both.* Therefore they intended to Profit each party (which in the Apostles sense is, to please our Neighbour to Edification;) And that none might be offended, whom Good reason might satisfy; They rendered Causes why some Ceremonies were put away, and some retained. Against so evident a Testimony, he replies, that *"the Ceremonies then abolished, were offensive to all Protestants.* Whereas the compilers themselves say, that there were some among those whom they would profit, *that did think it a great matter of Conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their accustomed Ceremonies.* Thus this Author hath failed in his attempt to take off the reasons of necessity for the first enjoying of the Ceremonies.

He is no more successfull against the Necessity of the Continuance. For when it had been said, that *They who are for the Church, are unwilling to have the Ceremonies taken away.* He replies, *"such as delight in them may enjoy and use their Liberty, but let them not lay stumbling blocks before others, or intangle the Conscience, or hinder those of a contrary Perswasion from the Ministry, and from teaching, &c.* This is easily said, but he should have also proved it practicable. For Instance, If in one and the same Parish the Minister be against Ceremonies, and the people for them; how shall each of these enjoy and use their Liberties? What contentions and variances, must needs arise? If you say, the People may make use of a Minister of the same Judgment with themselves. (1) They cannot do it for all Offices. (2) This must lay a constant ground of alienation, and so of Quarrelling betwixt People and Minister, and betwixt the Ministers themselves. How can this Writer forget that this was a frequent Case in the late troubles, almost in all Parishes? This therefore is to multiply divisions; that

at last must overthrow all. And there is no considering Person but sees a necessity that all Ministers should be bound to the same Rule.

Another reason for continuing the Ceremonies was, because it would be in vain to comply with them, who will never be satisfied. To this he answers, "*With what soberness can this be said, when hitherto the Dissenters were never tryed with any Relaxation, &c.* But with what truth can he say they were never tryed? When they had a Relaxation at the Kings first coming home; and it was left to them, to conform in what they could have no scruple of Conscience, yet this did not satisfy them. But he had said before, "*That some of them did comply with the Kings desire.* Yet he doth not tell us who, or how many; and indeed when this was objected to their Friends that laboured for an Indulgence for them, they could not give an account of any considerable number that did so. "*Others* (he saith) *did not perhaps for the prevention of Scandal.* And we say perhaps, The same *Perhaps* to prevent a Scandal among their own Party, whose Spirits they have imbittered with an hatred of the Church of England, may still prevail upon them to be unsatisfied. So that the Honour of the Church and State must be prostituted, by repealing their Laws and Injunctions, to the Fortuitous pleasure of them that do not conform. Besides, this Author will not give us the bounds of his desired Latitude, nor assure us where that Party will stand; How far we must go to satisfy all the several Sects, and how many will be gained; all these things are requisite to assure us, that they intend to be satisfied.

It was also said that the Imputations of *Idolatry*, *Superstition* and *Antichristianism* to the things enjoined, perswade us not easily to part with them, as being so guilty. These Calumnies have been engraven with Swords, and written in blood; and to renounce what we believe to be innocent, as criminal, is plainly to declare that we have no love to the Truth, that we tacitly condemn what we approve, and we should likewise Calumniate all those whose Communion we pretend to, the former Church, who did observe them as indifferent.

The Discourser does not deny, that these Calumnies have been

been raised, nor doth he condemn the slanderers, but he says, "*Shall their value be so exalted, as to be thought of more worth than the Unity of the Church.* To which we answer, That though we account the Church's *Unity* to be of an infinite Value above them, yet we cannot promise our selves to procure her *Unity* by a thing that is not just in it self; that is by justifying false imputations in taking away, what we, and other Christians have thought clear and praise-worthy. The expedient which he hath proposed, for saving the Churches honour, by her declaration, that *she remits her injunctions in compliance with weak consciences*, Will be an evidence of her very great weakness: unless those *Weak Consciences* declare also, that she hath not been Idolatrous, Superstitious, or Antichristian in her former enjoying of them, and that the things contended about, were but indifferent, (for so *St. Paul's* declaration concerning abstaining from meats, did conclude both sides to such apprehensions of them) As also that they confess, and bewail the Schism which they have already made; and take shame to themselves, for all those practices which they have done against the Church. Such a Declaration as this may serve to repair the Churches Honour, and move her to remit her Injunctions, to men that give such evidence of having tender Consciences. But the Non-Conformists are so far from such a declaration, that this Author says in the next Section, that "*They account these things not indifferent but unlawful.* So that this expedient will only cast shame on the Church, and leave them to the boastings of their own Godliness.

It was also urged for the Continuance of those Injunctions, that a War was undertook to remove them; and that if now they were yielded up to the pleasure of those that fought against them, they would in the next place charge all the blood of that War upon the Church, and her Party. To this he replies, that "*it is easier said than proved, that the late War was undertaken to remove the Ceremonies.* To which we say, that if there was any Faith in the Declarations of those that managed the late War, or in the Sermons of those who were to encourage the People to it, and did therefore beg for money and men, &c. For Jesus Christ, and those that did denounce Cur-

ses from the Lord, on such as ^{did} not come forth to his assistance against the mighty, If those Articles about Religion which were proposed in every Treaty of Peace had any truth; then it is as easily proved as said, that That War was undertaken, (though not solely) to remove the things in difference betwixt the Church and the Dissenters; and it is an Impudence, equal to their other practices, to deny it. And as this is clear, so it is as clear, that they charged upon his *Late Murther'd Majesty*, all the blood of that War; because he had made concessions in the like nature, and we have no reason to expect otherwise now. I'll leave this Author to please himself in the Malice and Envy of the argument he hath made from these my premisses.

Although the controverted Ceremonies are no Foundation of the Church of England, yet far less changes, in the last edition of the *Liturgy* have been taken by *Popish Priests*, (to my own knowledge,) as advantages to brand her of Inconstancy, to dissuade some ignorant persons, to forsake her, as still various: and to come over to their Church, which was founded upon a Rock. And this was urged as a reason not to take them away. In stead of a satisfying answer, this odious inference is made. *It seems that greater care must be taken, that the Papists be not offended, then that many thousands of honestly minded Protestants should be relieved.* Is there no difference betwixt taking care, that no advantage be given to *Popish Priests* to seduce Protestants, and a taking care that the *Papists* be not offended? The Author knows there is a difference, but he was to gratify his Hatred, and he hath done it. The like design of exposing his Adversary to the *Odium* of a kindness to the *Papists*, he had practiced, *Sect. 8.* For when the grounds which he had laid of denying a Toleration to the *Papists*, were applied to the other Dissenters. He neglects to show the Disparity; or that the application was injurious: but makes this Demand. "*What greater advantage can be given to the Papists, then that a Protestant Writer should declare, That so great a part of Protestants, are equally envolved with them in those heinous Crimes, &c?*" The answer is obvious, For they that did those things, have given the *Popish Party* a far greater advantage. He that declares it, doth tell them no more then what they have been told before, even by *Forreign Protestants*; who
detested

detested such Acts of those men, who among us falsely pretend to the honour of that name. Besides, he that declares it, doth tell them no more then what they know before. Do you think the Papiſts had loſt their Sences and Reason? Did they not ſee a Rightfull Prince, firſt driven by Arms from his Throne; and afterwards hurried to the Slaughter? Nor do I think that the Crimes of thoſe men, or the declaring of them, to be more a reproach to the Proteſtant Profeſſion; then they are to Chriſtianity, to which they and other Criminals do equally pretend. Thoſe that were true and knowing Chriſtians, did then abhor thoſe practices; and do not take the mentioning of them for a reproach to themſelves.

There is no reaſon that the Diſcourſer ſhould be aſtoniſhed at the laſt Reason, That *Diſſentions about things indifferent, have neceſſitated the Church to make thoſe injunctions.* For it was apparent before, in the reaſons that the Compilers of the Liturgy gave; That becauſe there were different perſuaſions of the Ceremonies; therefore ſome were enjoyed. And in this our Church did no otherwiſe then the Catholick Church hath done in like Caſes. I ſhall give him one Inſtance, I might give more. The Diſſentions in the primitive times, about the Feaſt of Eaſter, moved the Council of Nice to determine and enjoyn one time for it to all Chriſtians; for no other reaſon, but that there might be an *ἁμωνία* i. e. an agreement among Chriſtians. Let learned and good men judge, on which ſide lyes the Animofities: who hath the beſt Pretentions to Equiry, Charity, and good Advice.

SECT. 12.

Non-Conformiſts are leſs capable of Comprehension than other men of Different Opinions, who are tolerated in the Church of England.

THE Contenders for Comprehension, and Toleration, do urge, that the *Indulgence* of the Church of England, to men differently perſwaded in the points of *Predeſtination, Free-will, &c.* may be extended to them. In anſwer to which it was ſaid, The

The Moderation of the Church as to those, was groundd upon the Difference betwixt those Diverse Opinions in the point of Predestination: and the Dissensions about her Orders and Ceremonies, That those were Difficulties in all Ages and all Religions. These required but one single Resolution, whether an indifferent Ceremony might be enjoyned? To this he answers, "*That the matters of Inconformity are not things only indifferent, but accounted by them unlawfull.*" This is to beg the Question; for if they be indifferent, they cannot be unlawful; and it is not enough to account them unlawful: but they must prove them to be so, which the Author wisely declines.

But then he questions the truth of that Assertion; *That the Dissenters cannot name one Church besides ours, in which there was a Schism made for a Ceremony.* Yet he makes the assertion good, for he hath not, nor can he name one particular Church as ours, in which, for a Ceremony, there was made a Schism, and a division of the members, from one another, and of one part from their Pastors and Bishops. He said indeed, *That a great Rent was made in the Christian Church throughout the World, about "a Ceremony the time of Celebrating the Feast of Easter.* Which if true, is not pertinent; for that Dissension was not betwixt Members of a particular Church; but betwixt the *Asiatick* and all other Churches. Secondly, there was no Schism made; For *Irenæus* shew'd plainly that the former Bishops of *Rome* did preserve their communion with the *Asiaticks*: And although *Victor* had been so hot as to publish an excommunication; yet the Dissent of the other Bishops from such a course, soon hindred the effects of it, as to a Schism.

There are also differences Tolerated in the Church of *England*, but not of those Effects, and Principles, as are the Divisions about the *Disciplinarian Way*. The *Arminians* and *Anti-arminians* never broke Communion amongst themselves, nor that of the Church; they loaded indeed one another with horrid Consequences of *Pelagianism* on one side, and *Manicheism* and *Stoicism* on the other; but still kept a common Reverence to the Church, and appealed to her Articles. The differences of *Bowing* or not *Bowing*, of using *Consecrated*, or *Bidding* Prayers, never so far prevailed as to harsh censures, Therefore the

the Church was never put to a necessity to consult her peace by determining, and enjoyning. But it hath been far otherwise in the Differences of the *Conformists* and *Non-Conformists*, these last have all wayes attempted the destroying of the Government, altering the Worship, and Discipline of it; have gather'd, and do gather, separate Congregations. They refused the Publick Communion as a continuing in *Babylon*; exalted their own way as the Kingdom of Christ, and by these courses did bring an Universal Confusion. Which brought a necessity upon the Church to determine, and to secure her self, by hindring such persons from the Opportunities of divulging these their Opinions in a Constant Ministry. As for those that have only different Apprehensions from her in these things, and yet do secure her by subscriptions from troubling her, they alwaies did, and may still be admitted to the Offices and Emoluments in her.

There is yet another reason which makes us afraid of a *Comprehension*, and that by it we cannot attain the pretended ends of *Unity and Peace*, Because it will permit men of such Contradictory Perswasions, to different Practices, in almost all the daily Offices of Religion; (Which cannot be said of the other Differences which are tolerated in our Church.) And to think that such men on both sides will content themselves in their own Opinions, and rest satisfied in the Liberty they enjoy, without attempts upon their Opposites, is vainly to suppose that *Men will be wise on both sides*. To which it is replied, that "*We need suppose no more but that the State and chief Guides of the Church be wise; that the Eminent Persons of both sides be Moderate and Prudent. and the Publick constitution so well Stated and settled, as to be able to Curb the Imprudent, and to encourage the well advised.*" If this Author did consider how tender, and nice a thing Peace is; how hardly it is kept, while men have different Lusts, divided Interests, and bad Hopes; how easily it is broken, even by the lowest and vilest parts of a Society; and that in despite of the wisest Princes, and greatest Counsellors, he would also grant that it is as necessary that the Foundations of it should be laid in the minds of the Community,

as well as in the breasts of Great men, and the Rules of Govern-
ment.

The first *Massacre* of the *Protestants* in *France* began from the
Rabble. For as the *Duke of Guise* was passing by *Vassy* in
Champaigne (where the protestants by the Edict of *January*,
1562. had the Liberty of their Religion,) and heard their Bell
which called the *Protestants* to the place of their Worship; He
went into the Town, intending by his Presence only, without
any Violence to dissolve their meeting, But staying in the Streets,
to talk with the Officers of the Town, his Lackques and the in-
feriour part of his Train (which then used to be very great with
the *French Nobility*;) went before to the Place where the *P.*
rotestants were assembled, and there first beginning with revil-
ings, and answered in the same manner by the *Protestants*,
they proceeded to sling stones, and after that alighting from
their Horses with their Swords and Pistols they assaulted that
unarmed company; and although the shrieks and cries of
Women and Children for help, had brought the *Duke* to the
place, yet neither his intreaties, nor threatnings could prevail
till all the *Protestants* were either slain, or fled. Where the
Historian saith, there were 60. kill'd, and 200 wounded, the
Duke himself having been hurt in his Face, while he sought to
appease the Tumult. The wisdom of States and Guides can-
not possibly prevent popular commotions which are suddain
and violent. Besides the Dissenters from our Church render
the State and Guides of the Church incapable of hindring the
sad effects of differences in Religion. One party denies that
the Guides of the Church can command an indifferent thing.
The other Party which are these of the Congregational Way,
deny that the State hath any power in things of Religion, What
then shall become of the wisdom of the State, and Guides of the
Church, and well Stated constitution to form or keep Peace?
Moreover, there was another reason given, which this Author
mentions but doth not answer. That Dissenters upon Conscience will
be prevailed with by the same Conscience, to endeavour the propagation of
their own way in these differences, to the Depression of others;
Especially when their apprehensions of their own way, put
such a value upon them as to render them the Kingdom of Christ,
the

the *Worshipping of God in the Spirit*. And on the other side they think their Opposites to be guilty of those crimes against which God hath declared his jealousy. This is a thing daily seen in all the divided Parties, and then what hopes can we have of Peace? The Replyer gives no other answer but this. "If some offer to *disturb the Peace, can no Rule of Government restrain them?* The Magistrate in this case can do nothing but by Force; and that is declaimed against, as *Compulsion of Faith, Tyranny, and Persecution*. Besides, the Supreme Magistrate may be often diverted from his cares of these things, by the more pressing Exigencies of State; and so not be able to take notice of the first assaults on the Peace, till the wounds of it becomes dangerous, and almost incurable.

SECT. 13.

Necessity only can justify a Toleration, and a standing Army must make it safe.

THIS Position had been asserted, that *Only Necessity can give colour to Toleration; For that it is by the Confession of all, one of those things that are not good in their own nature*. Which the Discourser saith, "he cannot yield unto, but he would not have been so Pertinacious, if he had considered that Unity in Religion is commanded us, that we are enjoy'd to practice all the methods of it, as that which is most for the Glory of Christ, and the honour of Religion; that at best it is but our infirmity, if we are not all of one heart and one Soul: and who dare deny, but that it were best that all Christians were so? But when after all Essays we cannot root them out, then we must bear with them, yet so as to set bounds to the Dissenters, and circumscribe Dissentions, which I conceive is a Toleration; So that this is the last resort, and therefore is like *War and Oaths* which nothing but Necessity can justify. But this Author thinks it a branch of *Brotherly Love*. We say *Brotherly Love* may be used indeed, in the first arising of Dissentions, as means to allay them, and to prevent a Toleration, or may be exercised in it: but there is no reason to think it is a Toleration.

In the next place he quarrels, that it was said, that we want an Instance of the safety of Toleration, in any Nation, where the Supreme Governour had not an Army to Circumscribe, and confine the heats of Dissenters in Religion to their own breasts, and keep off the destructive effects of Schism. In Read of answering this, by shewing an Instance; for I appealed to the Practice of the Ancient Emperours and Modern Princes and States. He replies, "that such a Maxim, makes little for the safety and Liberty of True Religion, and then rants against it as an injury done to Protestants that live under Popish Princes, and as the dictate of Prejudice and Partiality. This is a very uncouth way of answering arguments, and it is a brutish way of considering things as to our present advantage, or as they possibly may be used, without any reflections on the former practices of Mankind. But I shall take off the *Odium* he usually flings when he hath no reason to return, by assuring him, that a *Standing Army* is necessary to suppress those Tumults which often on a sudden like Earthquakes do arise among the dissenting Parties, which if not immediately crush'd, may gather strength, while a force is to be formed against them. And that such Tumults may arise from that party which is *Established* by Law as well as the *Tolerated*, who may be insolent in their own power and advantages, and seek to violate the Faith of the Prince which is given to the *Tolerated*. And therefore the Sword of a *Standing Army* is to be a terrour not only to the *Tolerated*, but also to the *Established Parties*, and secures the safety and Liberty of the true Religion, if either be true. And although the French King hath more assurance of the Loyalty of his Protestant Subjects (while they retain the true doctrine of *Protestantism* which is not to acknowledge any power above Sovereign Princes, either of the Pope as the *Papists*, or of the People, as our *Dissenters*,) then of the *Popish party*; yet there is a Necessity upon him to maintain constant Forces to keep both Parties in peace, and to secure the Protestants who are weak and less Numerous, from the daily attempts of the Romish Priests to stir up the People to a Massacre. Therefore Henry the fourth of France thought it necessary for the security of his Protestant Subjects (who had shewed themselves loyal to his Interest) to allow them several strong

strong fortified Towns for their Security in all France, which were called *Les Villes de sureté*; whereof *Rochel* was chief. And every Prince hath need of an Army to make good his promise, if he once hath passed his word for a Toleration. And although Toleration is not the reason of a standing Army among the Dutch; yet a *Standing Army* secures it.

The other passages out of the *Discourse of Toleration*, which he afterwards mentions, are matters of his remarks and advice, rather than of his objections; and therefore I shall no more concern the Reader with them. He concludes with a Complaint of the *Answerer*, that "*he hath used Many hard speeches against him, and charged him with Malice.*" Do but consider the Passages, and judg betwixt him and me, and if the charge be not true, I shall not be ashamed to crave his pardon. I wonder how he can say, that "*he hath written these things, as knowing that the Judge standeth before the Door*"; for surely such a Consideration would have perswaded him to another frame of Spirit. But howsoever, I do in sincerity commend him to the Grace and Mercy of him, who is the *Great Shepherd of the Flock*, who hath commanded us *Peace and Unity*; And who shall *One day judg the World in Righteousness*.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

P Age 6. line 35. for eanm r. mean. p. 17. l. 19. r. baseness p. 18. l. 34. f. that r. the, p. 23. l. 4. r. Kindness, p. 27. l. 23. r. contraries, p. 32. l. 13. f. your r. their, p. 35. f. of r. from, l. 38. r. reproved, p. 40. l. 36. f. either r. thither p. 44. l. 1. r. did not.